PEACE NEWS

Non-Violence Brotherhood:

Russia's Baptist Leader replies to Peace News

See Page Two

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A problem for Mendes-France

Colonialism and the

HISTORY might show that the day on which the Labour Party voted in favour of a policy of German rearmament was the last occasion on which peace in French North Africa might have been saved, said Claude Bourdet, Editor of the

the Commonwealth, Asian and European countries took part, in addition to several members of the House of Commons.

Briefly he outlined French colonial history

In Tunisia, in Algeria and in Morocco there had been a constant policy of terrorism; there had been methods of imprisonment and torture which improved on the German Gestapo.

At such a time there came into power the "man with the golden policy, the intelligent conservative"—M. Mendes-France.

In Tunisia the granting of self-government prevented the war which was undoubtedly imminent. In Morocco tension was rather more slowly eased; 51 Moroccan leaders, imprisoned on false evidence concerning the Casablanca plot, were freed.

If after the failure of EDC Britain had shown the least sympathy to France's point of view; if she had proposed constructive steps towards German reunification; if she had urged high level talks with Russia, then the position of Mendes-France might have been

Frenchmen tantamount to placing a bomb with the fuse ready in the very heart of Europe. If M. Mendes-France returned from the present conference having agreed to a measure of German rearmament which the French parliament felt unable to accept—and this seemed certain—then the days of Mendes-

So too were the days of a more enlightened French colonial policy, M. Bidault, the power-ful Paris lobby, and the financial and settler interests would have their way.

By Hugh Brock

EFFORTS to glamorise military life and to hide the moral issues involved are being stepped up throughout Britain, according to reports reaching Peace News in the last few weeks.

In Paisley, Scotland, the military authorities secured the co-operation of the Young Men's Christian Association in arranging an evening of films and entertainment for boys nearing

High ranking officers of the three Services were present. According to the Scots Independent, the officers gave "reassuring pep talks about the attractive recreations open to young men in the forces, and the valuable careers open to them on return to civilian life.

"A glamorised picture of the conscript's life in camp was passed on to these young men. No representative of any pacifist group, Christian or otherwise, was invited to present those pacifist views which a large section of the whole community regard as fundamental to the Christian religion or to warn the conscripts of their civil right to resist conscrip-

When a former member of the YMCA rose in the hall and politely asked whether the YMCA was in its rights in organising a recruiting drive, he was refused a hearing and, according to the Scots Independent, was

A young Canadian present, said afterwards: I was painfully astonished at the behaviour of the Chairman. I trust the impression I must take home with me from this meeting will not injure our traditional respect for the

working of Scottish democratic bodies."

The Canadian, Allison B. Connell, who gave his address as c/o The Canadian Embassy in Paris, pointed out that there was no conscrip-tion in his country. "I was not prepared to see its enforcement aided in Scotland by traditionally Christian bodies in this intolerant fashion."

On back page

Cold War

By Olwen Battersby

French weekly newspaper L'Observateur. He was speaking in Scarborough at a meeting organised by the Movement for Colonial said that he had joined the Labour Party at Freedom, at which members of the Colonies, a time when two thirds of the people of this

in North Africa.

So far the picture would appear rosy—but for one factor: German rearmament.

Unable to accept

But to accept German rearmament was for France were numbered.

STRONG-ARM MEN TACKLE OPPONENT OF MILITARISM

conscription age.

"Glamorised picture"

young men who seemed eagerly to warm to their work."

country lived in dire poverty, one third were comfortable and one tenth of those were rich.

In the last fifty years a peaceful revolution had taken place in this country. But these figures were still roughly correct for the world as a whole, and those who attended this meeting were taking part in the great social revolution of our time, through which two thirds of the world's population would emerge from poverty, hunger and oppression to social equality and freedom.

Joseph Murumbi, former secretary of the Kenya African Union, said that the peoples of Kenya needed a place to live, education, freedom, and the right to enjoy the fruits of civilisation in equal measure. To demand this in their own country was no crime; yet for this they had been branded agitators, and Communists: troops had been sent in.

"If the war in Indo-China could be stopped by appealing to the good sense of human beings, so, on the smaller plane could the struggle in Kenya. If we are treated as human beings " we will research as human beings " beings " as human beings " beings to the good sense of human beings to the good sense of the good sense beings, we will respond as human beings" he concluded.

New imperialism

"Last time I came to this conference it was to plead for our Socialist leaders," said Clovis Maksoud, a leading member of the Socialist Party of Syria.

"Today I have very great pleasure in announcing that as a result of the recent elections the Socialist party is the largest single party in the country.

But there was a "new version of imperialism": the imposition of "defence pacts" which would stille the vital aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East. SEATO had been accepted; but he hoped that the Labour Party would get ready now to reject any Middle East defence pact which might well be one of the important issues at the next conference.

He pleaded that there should be no iron curtains in the Socialist world, "for Socialism is based on morality, and morality recognises no frontiers." Arab socialists had received tremendous inspiration from the British Labour Party, from the Webbs, from Laski, Bevan and Cole.

Solly Sachs, secretary of the Garment Workers Union of South Africa expelled by the Malan government, said that he wished to give a few concrete facts.

In South Africa to oppose the policy of Dr. Malan was to be deposed from position: he could produce names and papers relating to 52 such cases.

In Johannesburg 15 thousand Africans had been uprooted from their homes, and shifted 10 to 15 miles.

"I am a bitter man, I make no apology. am er

"There is no black problem, no yellow problem, there is only a white problem," he continued. Unless the people of Great Britain denounced their own past, and the policy of cruel oppression now being waged, they would never gain the confidence of the 15 hundred million coloured people: they had not got it at the present time.

Work together

It had been said that if the African advanced, socially and economically, then the standard of living of the white man would go down. This was nonsense: it was a problem to which he had given many years of research. Only as black and white lived in amity and co-operation could either advance; only so could East and West work together in the interests of the whole of humanity.

Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, said that today, for the first time in history, the coloured peoples had a voice in the councils of the world. Premier Nehru, from his own past experience, could speak for the subject races with an authority and conviction denied to Western statesmen, it was hoped that to his voice would soon be added that of the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

By affording a platform to the underprivileged of the world, the United Nations had by that fact alone justified its existence.

In concluding the meeting Fenner Brockway warned the audience that talks were now being conducted in this country in regard to an African NATO, the African Territorial Pact. Two reasons were given for this pact by those

promoting it:

1. Defence against Communist aggression,
2. Defence against African revolution.
He hoped it would meet with a bad start.

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The Labour Peace Fellowship Bookstall at the Labour Party Conference was the rallying point for all those who had gone to Scarborough intent on seeing that the peace issue was kept to the fore.

Left to right: L. J. Cuming, Secretary of the No Conscription Council: Victor Yates, MP; H. W. Franklin, member of the Labour Party delegation to China; George Craddock, MP; Olwen Battersby, of Peace News staff, and Hugh Brock, National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union and Assistant Editor of Peace News.

Asia-Africa conference early as possible"

COLOMBO NATIONS TO MEET AGAIN SOON

THE Prime Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Sastroamidjojo, who has been visiting India for talks with Premier Nehru, said before leaving that a conference of Asian and African nations (first proposed at the Colombo meeting in April of this

vear) would be held "as early as possible." Its aim was to extend the area of peace from Cairo to Manila, and indeed to

the entire world. India News reports the Prime Minister as commanding the largest measure of agreement saying that the five principles incorporated in would be included. the joint declaration between China and India and between China and Burma had Indonesia's support, based as they were on common sense. These principles, he said, should be acceptable

It was proposed to hold an early meeting of the Colombo Powers. This would be followed by a large conference of Asian and African countries who subscribed to certain principles. They did not like to bar any country, not even Pakistan or Japan, so long as they adhered to the basic approach of pre-

servation of peace in the world. Dr. Sastroamidjojo said he could not give details of the proposed conference before other prospective participants had been consulted.

He had not yet thought of a list of countries to be invited, although it would have to be carefully prepared.

He said that so far China had not been approached, but that might be done later. He felt the conference should be sufficiently authoritative and capable of taking decisions without reference to the respective govern-

ments. He would like to see each country represented at the conference either by its Prime

Minister or Foreign Minister. Representatives of non-self-governing countries in Africa and Asia could also

attend as observers. The agenda for the conference would be prepared in advance and, naturally, all items

BRIEFLY . . .

Editor of the Railway Review, Frank Moxley will be the speaker at a meeting organised by the London Group of the Third Camp Movement in Friends House, Euston Road, at 7 pm on Wednesday, October 13.

Colchester, garrison town in East Anglia, is to be visited by the Non-violent Resistance Group on Saturday, October 23, when they will join with local Quakers in the programme announced on page six.

"End the war in Kenya" poster march will leave Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1., for Hyde Park on Sunday, October 17 at 4.30 pm. The organisers, The Pacifist Youth Action Group will welcome all who can help.

A stall in the market place, was manned by the Bury (Lancs) H-bomb Campaign Committee to help in securing 10,493 signatures to the H-bomb petition.

The conference would focus its thought and attention on political issues, but prospects of economic collaboration might also be

A study group might then be appointed to determine how best Asian and African countries could mutually help each other.

"WE MET ASIANISM"

WHEREVER we travelled, in Japan, Burma, Hong Kong and Singapore— and in China itself—we came across something which was quite distinct from nationalism, or Communism, something which I can only describe as 'Asianism'," said Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labour Party, reporting on the Labour Party's China visit to a meeting of the British-Asian Socialist Fellow-

ship in Scarborough. He thought that "Asianism," which China shared with her fellow nations of the same continent, would prevent her from following slavishly the Russian, or any other, Western pattern.

Cambridge told about

Civilized Defence

ON Saturday, September 25, an Eastern Region Civil Defence Rally was held on Midsummer Common at Cambridge. Over 1,000 CD volunteers attended, and were addressed by the Home Secretary.

During the afternoon a few members and friends of Cambridge Peace Front stood on the edge of the Common holding aloft

Make the Powers Agree, To Ban the H-bomb (two side by side); Civilized Defence—Renounce Atomic Warfare; and so on.

Although only 12 people were available to take part in this parade it attracted great attention from passing traffic and pedestrians,

and received good local Press publicity. Leaf-

lets were given out, and the supply was soon exhausted.

The organisers consider that this form of

activity is one of the best and most practicable

(if the police are consulted beforehand) for

arousing interest in the peace movement, provided it is made clear that the purpose of the demonstration is not to attack CD volunteers,

but to stress the fact that the most important task for national security is to stop the bombs

PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

BEVANISM

THE political phenomenon that has come to be described as Bevanism would be present whether Mr. Bevan were in politics or not. It is very largely an emotion arising from a deep sense of dissatisfaction. It is widely felt throughout the politically conscious sections of the Labour

Party, whatever may be the case in the trade unions, the majority of whose members have no deep political convictions at all.

Bevanism arises from the consciousness that the Labour policy today has little relationship to the things taught and the generous aspirations nurtured when the Labour Movement was

political force that it is now. Today there is nothing fundamental that separates the Labour Party leaders from the leadership of the Conservative Party.

advancing from a small band of dedicated propagandists to the

This situation threatens not only the survival of the Socialist tradition in this country; it also threatens our representative system.

The present trend will not have to proceed very much further before it will be impossible to claim that the voters are offered any genuine choice at elections.

There is no real choice of policies for those who have to decide between Mr. Attlee and Mr. Eden, between Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Butler. By a different road from that which the totalitarian regimes have followed we are approaching our own singleparty regime.

A genuine parliamentary democracy can only be saved by a radical transformation of the Labour Party from the inside, or by a new, serious challenge to both the present parties.

Bevanism has given expression to that consciousness, that disquietude and sense of frustration, and whether Mr. Bevan's political career is finished or not these things will still be there.

The weakness about Bevanism so far is that it has never been able to propound a worked-out policy. A number of groups behind Mr. Bevan have from time to time gone through the motions of suggesting a policy, but they have always stopped short. The last example is the pamphlet of the "Victory for Socialism" group which was noticed in our columns last week.

All these groups, like Mr. Bevan himself, make gestures in the direction in which they suggest we should proceed but they refrain from producing a specific plan.

Now it might be that the main reason for this weakness is that they feel they owe allegiance to the Party they are challenging and therefore do not want to make that challenge too emphatic and too irrevocable. The restraint thus exercised puts them in a very vulnerable position. Mr. Morrison was able to charge them at Scarborough with having no policy and merely appealing to a series of negations. This charge seems to us to be

The moral, however, is not that they should acquire positive conceptions by adopting those of Mr. Morrison and thus cooperating in setting aside every aspiration that Scolialists have felt it worth while to work for; the moral is that they should clearly state their own premises and the conclusions to which they lead.

Leadership which gives expression to widely felt emotion— even when that emotion is a thoroughly healthy one—only by standing on a series of negations, can all too easily degenerate into a dangerous demagogism.

We believe that basic to the feeling that has sought expression through Bevanism is a realisation that it is impossible for Socialism to be developed in Britain while Britain is tied to a military alliance with a vehemently anti-Socialist power.

The organisation of a nation for warfare on the present scale in itself prevents the true development of the Socialist community. To link such an organisation for total warfare to the greatest capitalist power the world has ever known and imagine that it is possible in such conditions to develop along the lines of Socialist freedom is fantastically unrealistic.

A politics that is to save the Socialist conception and maintain the reality of British parliamentary democracy must put an end to the military alliance with America, and repudiate also the development of a military system for total warfare organised on

continental dimensions. These are essential ground-clearing operations necessary to make a positive policy possible. Given these things it will then be no longer impracticable to state a clear policy on the lines sketched out by the Bevan group: a war on want in the povertyridden areas of the world; a real policy of colonial freedom; and the development of a co-operative social order that need not be forced.

Another attempt

MR. VYSHINSKY has made another attempt to get the disarmament commission functioning again.

Briefly Russia now proposes the pro-hibition of atomic and similar weapons and their elimination from the armaments of all states; a general reduction of armaments based upon a 50 per cent cut in all budgets for the year ending December 1953; and the establishment of international control over the implementation of those decisions.

The exact meaning of the text of the translation is not quite clear where the functions of the control organ are concerned, and the fact that it would operate under the Security Council might be taken to imply that its proposals would be finally subject to the veto. However Russia has previously made it clear that she would not insist on the veto being operative on decisions of the control body, and the present offer does seem to indicate her readiness to accept proposals which she previously objectionable because they did not call for the banning of the nuclear weapons in advance of the establishment of the control organ.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has expressed a welcome to the Russian resolutions. He has raised a number of points to be cleared up, but has made the general 'If the Soviet Government has really abandoned its demand for an unsupervised ban on nuclear weapons in advance of a scheme of disarmament that is a step forward."

Fateful decision

THE nine power agreement is of a .comprehensive and far-reaching

Western Germany is to get back her independence, with full sovereignty and equality.

The Bonn agreement on the ending of the occupation of Germany is to be revised in the light of the decisions taken in London but the three Powers, Britain, France and the US will continue to occupy Berlin. Whether they now surrender their right to resume control over W. Germany in any emergency of which they were to be the sole judges, remains to be seen, though we doubt whether Adenauer would now accept that restriction on sovereignty.

The Brussels Treaty is to be strengthened and extended to include Germany and Italy, and new powers of decision are to be given to its Council, which was previously merely advisory. One additional power is that of supervising the size and character of the West German contribution.

The NATO Council is to invite West Germany to become a member and the Treaty is to be extended indefinitely.

Britain is committed to maintain four divisions and a tactical air-force on the continent for the rest of the

America is to give the same aid as they would have done under EDC and Canada is committed to the support of NATO.

The Final Act

A MORE detailed examination of "The Final Act" of the London Conference—a rather significant title will appear in Peace News next week. In the meantime we point out that if it is finally ratified a step will have been taken which inevitably means not only the indefinite continuance of the cold war but an increase in the tension between East and West in Europe which might easily bring about the conditions start in Europe.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Mr. Eden's claim that they had built well for the future of Europe is open to the gravest doubt, and it is making nonsense of words for him to suggest that the new agreement is step towards the creation of European unity.

It is precisely the reverse, for it associates more closely together only nine European countries at the cost of dividing one of them and of creating in the heart of Germany an unnatural barrier to European unity. Indeed most of the terms used are misleading for when these powers talk of Germany they mean Western Germany and to them Europe means Western Europe.

It is necessary to insist that the precise terms should be used all the time if the true meaning of the agreement is to be appreciated.

Although it has been necessary to talk in terms of German sovereignty and equality and even of German unity, the main purpose throughout the attempt to bring off EDC in one shape or another has not been primarily concerned with these objectives. It has been to build up Western defence at the expense of Germany, and sovereignty and equality are the compensation offered to West Germany for their military contribution.

Those controls

AS to the Nine Power Agreement itself, even the controls accepted by Germany are less binding than might at first sight appear.

If Dr. Adenauer wants to manufacture guided missiles, larger warships, submarines and bombers, he is empowered to apply to the Council of Ministers under the Brussels Treaty, and if he gets the approval of the American commander of the European forces and a two-thirds majority of the seven members he can go ahead.

In other words with the help of America and three other members West Germany would no longer be bound by the limitations agreed on at the conference even against the votes of Britain and France.

As regards the control of other weapons, the level of stocks allowed at present can be altered by a majority of the Brussels Council.

Loopholes for the Generals

Though any increase of a West German contribution will require the unanimous consent of the other signatories, the national contributions of each signatory power will be put under the supreme allied commander "with the exception of the forces which NATO has recognised or will recognise as suitable to remain under a national com-

These national contributions will be "integrated as far as possible consistent with military efficiency."

Moreover if Germany is to be permitted to raise 12 divisions, amounting to half a million men, and a tactical air force in addition they will have a

maintained at full strength, except that under NATO they may be recruited from volunteers and by conscription.

But all the NATO countries are to apply the same terms of conscription, so that Germany will be continually calling up men to replace those who year by year finish their term of service. That means that each year will see an increase in a large reserve of trained men no longer under the control of NATO or anyone else except the West German government.

What then is the value of the controls which the Agreement purports to impose?

Next steps

ALL is by no means settled, however, for the Conference has only reached agreement on principles and, important as that is, the details have still to be worked out.

In order to secure agreement in London some of the more controversial details were by-passed and no attempt was made to reach understanding about the future of the Saar. That must still be the subject of further talks between France and Germany while the other details will be settled by the experts and presented to the Council of NATO, who are due to meet on October 20.

Dr. Adenauer will have reported to his Cabinet before Peace News appears, but he will still have to face a debate in the West German Parliament, and first reactions do not indicate that the Opposition are prepared to let ratification go by default.

The French Assembly was convened for yesterday, but though M. Mendes-France may have wanted to secure a straw vote, the battle still remains to be refought when all the details and the proposed future of the Saar are known. There seems no sign that opposition has been mollified, and indeed the French Prime Minister himself was not optimistic in answer to the question put to him at London airport.

Hurdles for Dulles

We take it that the British Government will be bound to initiate a debate in the Commons, and to secure ratification of the new proposals, and that Mr. Dulles will have to get the formal agreement of Congress to the American contribution which he has undertaken to ask for, in a Senate and House in which the Republicans may have lost their majority.

Some weeks must therefore elapse before the question is irrevocably settled-weeks which must be devoted not only to working out the final details of the Agreement but to the consideration of the alternatives which hold the

The Nine Power agreement must be compared with the Soviet plan for European security, and considered in relation to the Russian proposals for a resumed conference on the future of Germany, in order to see which holds out the greater promise of European unity and peace.

Nor must the latest plan for general disarmament suggested by Mr. Vyshinsky at UN be neglected, for it would be tragic folly indeed if the desire to rearm Western Germany was allowed to jeopardise the possibility of an agreement on all-round disarmament and of German equality on that basis, and if the scheme for the defence of West Europe was allowed to make impossible the reunification not only of Germany might easily bring about the conditions larger share than any other country in within which another world war would any integrated unit. And nothing is said start in Europe.

but of Europe, and to prevent the security which rival armed forces can about how these 12 divisions are to be

Russia's Baptist ieaaer

Karev, General Secretary of the Union of Baptists of the USSR, makes reference to the letter we sent to News in response to his article in that journal for June. (This was printed, with a full reproduction of Mr. Karev's article in Peace News for July 9.) News does not, of course, print our letter.

Mr. Karev refers first to a letter that he has received from Clifford Macquire, General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Clifford Macquire had urged, he says,

"That merely to condemn war is not enough and that all Christians must refuse to share in any war or preparation for war."

In reply to this Mr. Karev remarks that Baptists are not pacifists; the Bible does not deny the use of arms to hold evil in check; and chapter 13 of the epistle to the Romans "recognises the need for the sword to protect the well-being of men against those of evil will."

Here Mr. Karev is, of course, writing just as would the great majority of British or American Baptists. The only difference is that these would leave it to be inferred that "those of evil will" are the Russians, while Mr. Karev leaves his Russian Baptists to infer that those of evil will are to be found outside the bounds of Russia and largely in America.

Now this rejoinder to a pacifist from a nonpacifist may possibly be adequate in reply to

News for September, Mr. Alexander Karev, General Secretary of the Union of Baptists of the USSR, makes reference to the letter we sent to News in response to his continuous to the letter we sent to News in response to his continuous to the letter we sent to News in response to his continuous to the letter we sent to News in response to his continuous to the letter we sent to News in response to his continuous to the fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends the ranks of the partisans of peace."

Now it would be impossible for us to save the fellowship of Reconciliation, the partisans of the par we ourselves have written, however, and we are therefore able to observe that there has been a careful evasion of the main point we were making in our letter. Mr. Karev says:

> "Another letter is from J. Allen Skinner, the editor of 'Peace News,' who chiefly argues that it is difficult to regard as opponents of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction those who are in possession of such weapons. In his view, the Soviet Union will prove the sincerity of its condemnation of weapons of mass destruction only when it ceases to possess

Mr. Karev's first comment on this is:

"But surely, to prove that he condemns bad roads a man does not have to refuse to travel over those roads if there are no others.

The whole point of our contention, however, was that for Christians there was another road.

Karev then devotes the remainder of his article to an argument against pacifism in which we do not feel the need to follow him, and a justification of the attitude of the Russian Government.

Now Mr. Karev quoted with approval a

urging the British Government:

"To dissociate itself unequivocally from any policy which involves the use of H-bombs as a threat, deterrent or an actual weapon, even if it cannot persuade the American Government to adopt such a decision, and also to seek through the Disarma-Commission or otherwise to secure the banning of atomic weapons as the first step towards world disarmament.

He also expressed approval of the attitude of Dr. Soper, who urges Christians in Britain to call upon their Governments to renounce unconditionally the use of atom and hydrogen bombs and other arms. Mr. Karev did not urge against British Christians that they should recognise "the need for the sword to protect the well-being of men against those of evil

He did not remind them that:

"The Bible-even the New Testamentdoes not deny the use of arms to hold evil in check and uphold the right when wicked and lawless men lift their hand against the life or property of others."

He gave full approval to these declarations, and what we deplored in our letter to News was that he was seeking to equate those who held the same views as Dr. Soper with those of the "partisans of peace": "In the Soviet peace.

together with the whole Soviet nation, joined

By the Editor

Now it would be impossible for us to say "In Britain all Christians without exception, together with the whole British nation, joined the ranks of the partisans of peace," if this meant merely that they were declaring their approval of the British Government's policy because they accepted that the Government was pursuing it out of a genuine desire for peace. Those who are members of the organisations represented by the Standing Joint Committee whose declaration Mr. Karev has approved would be standing aside from such partisanship.

We do not expect to find the majority of Christians in Russia advocating a similar policy to the Christians in the British organisations of whose policy Mr. Karev approves, any more than we look to see a majority of British Christians doing so.

The majority of British Christians would no more have told Peter to put up his sword than would Mr. Karev. They would equally take the view that a man does not have to refuse to travel over a bad road if there are no others.

What we should like to find, however, is that there are some in Russia—even a few—as in this country, who take a different view; who might even have a doubt whether Jesus Christ would have joined the partisans of

Pacifist refuses screening

CONNIE JONES, a member of the Peace Pledge Union, was told that she would have to be politically screened when she applied for a job as a shorthand-typist in a Birmingham factory, she disclosed last week.

Connie Jones has been active in pacifist work in Birmingham and district for many years. Until recently she was a full-time field worker for the PPU and travelled to various parts of the country helping to further development work.



of the country.

The factory to which she applied was the Lodge Road plant of the Ford Motor Co., a subsidiary of an American concern.

Miss Jones was told by an official that she would have to be screened.

I asked if he meant medically, but he said no, politically," Miss Jones stated afterwards. The official said that she would not be asked any ques-CONNIE JONES

"I was aghast," she declared, "and said I thought it was a ghastly world in which we lived."

lived. The official said it was for the safety "I told him that it would be a waste of time pursuing the matter because I belonged

to the Peace Pledge Union, which although it was founded by Canon Dick Sheppard, might be regarded by his firm as subversive. "He told me not to worry and said the firm would decide. I was indignant to think that inquiries would be made behind my back.

So I withdrew my application.' Another woman whose case was front-paged together with that of Connie Jones in a Birmingham newspaper, stated that she had withdrawn her application to another firm after she had been asked in a form whether

she was a member of the Communist Party. The cases of both women are to be investigated by the Birmingham Borough Labour Party. The Party announced that it had warned trade unionists and Party members to be "alive to what appears to be the increasing dangers of McCarthyism in the city."

An Indonesian leader on universal values

The following is an extract from a radio talk to his people by the Indonesian leader Socian Shjarir.

The extract, which we reprint from Manas, a journal published in California, is taken from Robert Payne's book, "The Revolt of Asia."

IN penetrating deeper and being made more receptive to the overwhelming riches of the Western mind, they (Asians who learned to understand Western culture and its manifestations) regained their inner certainty. They allowed themselves to be influenced by those elements of culture which could be fertilising and developing, to form free and harmonious personalities. And at the same time they realized that it also belonged to Western tasks to conform to standards of truth, beauty, and goodness. These were the same ideas that had already been proclaimed by the prophetic figures of the East, though differently formulated and applied.

The West itself has also been in a process of revision and purification for a long time. Among themselves they knew that the application of knowledge and technique could have fatal results, if at the same time moral standards were allowed to be overthrown. The chaotic condition existing among the world powers with all that it implies (annihilation by the atomic bomb) arises from man's self-doubt and from the lack of inner moral

Essential task

The essential task of the modern man today, whether he comes from the East or the West, is to rescue himself from this abyss by endeavouring to fix again his known position, and re-establish his absolute presence, his destination in the cosmos. In all this he must be led by standards of truth, beauty, and kindness, which form together the components of human

The universal values are today no monopoly of the East, nor of the West; these are the tasks of fundamental man, and are valid whether he considers he is obeying the orders of the Almighty, or whether he considers man as a being finding his centre in himself.

In all this we keenly experience and are fully aware that the realization and maintenance of human dignity are not possible within the space of servility and submission of one people to another; for there is no human dignity without freedom to determine one's fate.

Hence our fierce resistance against all that hampers and hinders our treedom, and our strong will, and hence our determination to form the new society we have in view.

So we resist, not primarily because we were driven by hatred, resentment, or aversion to foreigners, but because we consider freedom as a conditio sine qua non, without which it is impossible to form ourselves and our community. Freedom is the condition for human dignity. But freedom and human dignity are ideas that remain sterile if they do not find concretion and application in the society in which we live.

McCarthyism in Britain | New film shows power of non-violence

SALT OF THE EARTH." an American film at the Academy Cinema, Oxford Street, London, illustrates the power of courageous non-violence to overcome injustice and violence.

Seeking equal rights of safety and pay with white miners, Mexican miners in New Mexico strike. Their wives also demand piped water and water closets in the company-owned houses. The zinc company try to smash the strike by using armed police, with tear-gas and imported strike-breakers.

No doctor will be brought to a woman in child-labour because her husband is a striker, credit is refused for food at the companyowned tood store, and when an instalment is missed in hire-purchase all payments are lost and the article taken away.

The strike-leader is offered a better job and told the "Reds" have "sold him up the river," then arrested for spitting at a blackleg. gaoted and beaten for answering the police.

The policeman comments over the unconscious Mexican, "Inat's no way to speak to a white man.'

The press is anti-union and wants the Mexicans deported. Then, under the Taft-Hartley Act, the picketing miners are to be arrested. Their wives take their place and mothers of the largest families are imprisoned. in prison they are as big a nuisance as Lansbury and the Poplar Borough Council were in Brixton, and are as speedily released.

Finally, refusing to use hunting rifles, the miners peacefully resist eviction and look forward to a better tuture for their childrenthe "salt of the earth."

Also at the Academy is a delightful English fantasy, "Pleasure Garden," which its producer, James Broughton, intended "to put out a few more flags for the total triumph of

The National Film Theatre Programme contains "Chuk and Gek," a Gala Russian film, free from propaganda and teaturing two delightful young boys. It should help film-goers to see Russians as human beings not

With it is an American film, "Time out of War," set in the American Civil War. Two Yankee soldiers and a Southern soldier shooting at each other have an hour's truce, sweep tobacco for biscuits and coffee and start fishing. Finding a dead soldier they bury him and fire a salute over him. At sunset, such is the stupidity of war, they return to the task of trying to kill each other.

"Living it Up!" a Paramount film now generally released, makes riotous comedy, with Martin and Lewis, out of a man (wrongly) suspected of having a few weeks to live atter atomic infection. Such a theme is in disgracefully bad taste.

ON the Waterfront," a splendid, exciting Columbia film all should see shows "selfappointed tyrants can be fought and defeated by right-thinking men in a vital democracy." Further, it illustrates that moral courage, even that of one man to speak the truth in court, is superior to gangster rule, the cowardly silence of American dockers fighting each other for work, brutality and murder.

Brando, aptly cast as an ex-bruiser, his brain affected by boxing, wants to fight violence by violence; but a priest cries, "Firing lead into another man's fiesh isn't being brave. Fight in the court with the truth. Get rid of that gun unless you haven't got the guts." This priest asks, "How can we call ourselves Christians and protect murderers with our silence?" He demonstrates that Christ is on the waterfront by the dockers and that whatever we do evil to anyone crucifies Christ, for all are brothers.

"A PACHE," a United Artists film, is the story of the last famous Apache chief who, told by a cherokee that "the warrior's day is over," eventually abandons his one-man war against the white men and farms the land.

The Bumblies return to TV

MICHAEL BENTINE'S series of ten minute films for Children's TV, "The Bumblies" returned on September 26. They will be played on alternate Sundays for a series of

"The Bumblies," three egg-like creatures from the planet Bumble, who come down to visit Professor Bentine, and, in particular, earth children, represent three facets of one personality. Bumbly 1, the Professor, is gentle and slightly pedantic; Bumbly 2, fat, jolly, and given to laughter; Bumbly 3, the brilliant scientist who is dim about all practical matters. In the films they are seen reacting to such situations as a day by the sea, and playing Cowboys and Indians.

Michael believes the Bumblies should provide an antidote to the violence too many children see in the cinema. He says: "The children see in the cinema. He says: Bumblies are entirely peaceable, though some-times mischievous. Cruelty and vice are un-

"In Search of the Pacifist Society"

A Week-end Conference for Pacifists

THE BRIARS, CRICH, DERBYSHIRE November 6 & 7

Guest Speaker: Stuart Morris

For details send S.A.E. to: Gordon Woodburn, 123 Pear Tree Street, Derby

Quaker Work Campers' reunion

Road-menders, bridge-builders, labourers, painters and decorators talked shop in London recently.

None of them were professionals. They were British work campers who had come together for a Friends Work Camps Committee reunion. BARBARA BOWDEN, one of the compers reports the gathering.

THE Reunion opened with a period of silence, all-round introductions, and then

Peter Maddock spoke on the Camp at Dusseldorf, entirely organised by young German Quakers.

The work consisted of building houses for settlers from the East Zone: the sites were on a steep hillside and campers had to dig out earth to make a level foundation.

The campers were Anglo-German, the Germans from both East and West Zones. The work lasted from 7.30 till 12.0 and from 2.0 till 5.0. Their discussions covered Pacifism, Naziism and Adenauer.

Preferred their zone

Campers were afforded an opportunity to visit homes of East zone refugees and talk freely.

Most had left the East zone because prices were higher than in the West, and because they dislike the police. However, the non-Communist East zone campers preferred their zone, for, unlike in West Germany, education, even at university level is free, and there are not as many Russians to be seen there as Americans in the West.

Then John Coe reported on two camps run by the Service Civil International in South Italy. One, on a school, was much needed for there were no educational facilities in the area. In the second camp a bridge was built linking a village to the neighbouring town from which it was entirely cut off in the wet season.

One ten foot hole was dug, and filled with hand-mixed (!) concrete.

There were present campers from ten countries including India and Israel.

Successful contacts

Brian Rodmell reported next on the FWCC camp in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

This was a fortnight's camp working on the Rye Hill Youth Club, a mixed club of 175 members, with activities of different types on most days of the week, in a poor part of Newcastle where few other opportunities of recreation are found.

The work in this camp consisted of redecorating, but its interest lay in the successful contacts made with the club.

Two evenings a week campers worked till 9 p.m., so club members could help, response was slow at first but eventually there were almost too many workers. They also invited club members to their evening "quiet time" with the result that these "quiet times" were continued after the campers left.

A talk by George Whiteman followed on opportunities for service, and discussion on the position of girls in foreign camps, types of work that should be undertaken, devotional camps, how much responsibility should be borne by camp leaders, and other topics.



FOR THE WORLD'S HUNGRY CHILDREN These three young Americans were part of a jury of six which tasted and judged soybean "milk," fish flour rolls, and reconstituted powdered milk which have been produced by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). These new foods are inexpensive to produce and high in protein content.
UNICEF-equipped drying plants are already turning out the new milk in Yugoslavia, with similar plans underway for Indonesia, a non-

CHRISTIAN ARMS

WE learn from a contributor to the Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald that the North Wales Association of the Presbyterian Church of Wales holds £10,000 3 per cent. National Defence Stock (1954-58); £1,000 3 per cent. National Defence Stock (PO Issue); £200 3 per cent. National Defence Stock (Conversion Issue); £31,567 11s. 3½ per cent. War Loan, and £1,000 3½ per cent. Defence Bonds.

October 8, 1954, PEACE NEWS-3

FUNDS FROM FILMS



A MOST rewarding way of raising funds for Peace News (now that the winter season is coming round again) is to put on a film show.

There are many excellent libraries of documentary films in the country. Some lend films free, others make a small charge. The terms of loan do not per-

mit an admission charge to be made, but collections can be taken. The subjects available include, colonies; India;

daily life in Russia, America; folk art in China or África; United Nations, community problems; and there are one or two precious films of Gandhi and Dick Sheppard.

The value of such shows is that they provide education as well as being money-raisers. If you would like further details as to how to go about arranging a show, please write to me. ... and if you are not in a position to put on a show yourself, how about helping Peace News to do it? You know the way.

TOM WARDLE

Contributions since September 24: £74 &s. 5d. Total since January 1, 1954: £1,250 1s. 9d. Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Rev. Cameron Newell at London Tribunal

By Hugh Brock

WITH a military escort which had brought him from prison sitting close by, Private John Alfred Hopkins told the London Advisory Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on September 13 that he would soldier no

He had been conscripted from February 1951 to March 1953. Keen and conscientious, he had been promoted to Sergeant, then he became a Christadelphian and decided to follow their teaching and not that of the War Office.

He went down to his Territorial Unit when he was due to do his annual conscript's training and said he would not be coming any

In July he was Court-martialled and sent to Gloucester Prison.

"The Tribunal sent him back to prison, not recognising his conscientious objection.

Also before the same Tribunal was civil prisoner R. Hamilton. Sentenced to three months imprisonment at Stratford Court because he would not serve in the Non-combatant Corps of the Army.

Like Private Hopkins he wanted to serve God and not the War Office.

Came to testify

The Rev. Cameron Newell, pacifist vicar of St. Peter's, Ipswich, who was in the news last year when he was refused the living of Holbrook, because of his views, had come to London to testify to the conviction of a student-teacher at the Ipswich School of Art, Mr. Page.

He too was serving a sentence of three months imprisonment.

Judge McDonnell asked Page if he had discussed the question of being a CO with any

members of his family.

Page: "Yes with my brother who has just completed his National Service."

"He thinks you're wrong?"
"No, sir. He had thought of giving it up."

"What about his annual training?"
"He may object."

Page, who attends the local Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peace Pledge Union group was released from prison and registered as a CO on condition that he undertook civil

There was ringing conviction in every word uttered by Lowestoft factory worker David

He believed it was wrong to trust in armaments. "We must seek out that part of God which is in the Russians . . We must carry on our work in our normal way—unarmed." Would he think it wrong to work in a

"No. But it would be as part of preparation for warfare." He made it clear that he would not do any work as part of a bargain with military service regulations.

Asked what other people at the factory thought of his views, David Batley answered:
"The foreman and chargehands say they would do the same if they had my convic-

tions." The tribunal granted conditional registration as a CO.

Yorkshire Meeting

HOUSEWIVES, teachers, a Police forensic science expert and a shop assistant were included among the small but enthusiastic audience at Wakefield (Yorks) which heard PPU field worker Ethel A Lewis stress that now was the time to act on the pacifist concern.

The object of the meeting was to revive the Wakefield group of the Peace Pledge Union.

The atom bomb, said Mrs. Lewis, had been dropped and, on the whole, people in this country had displayed an indifferent attitude towards this action.

Later came the hydrogen bomb and with it an awakening of conscience.

People who up to that time had taken war in their stride suddenly questioned their assumption that peace groups comprised a crowd of cranks," observed the speaker.

A proposal to re-form the group was agreed upon unanimously, meetings to be held on the first Friday of every month.

War damage in peace time

By Hilda von Klenze

EVER since the existence of peace-time armies there has been a clash between the destructiveness of the military and the constructive activities of the civilian. An army needs room to train its men and test its weapons, and as its devastating power increases it encroaches more and more on farmland, forest and the peace of the countryside.

This state of affairs is tolerated only because of a lingering belief on the part of authorities and population alike that if war should come the army will prevent worse destruction by the enemy.

In Western Germany the conflict is aggra-vated by three factors. Here the destruction is due to the activities of "the occupation," and it is in any case not in the nature of an occupying army to do other than wrong in the eyes of the inhabitants of the occupied

Furthermore, the German authorities themselves still tenaciously cling to the outworn belief in the protective qualities of armies in times of war, and are therefore anxious to give the foreign troops on their soil as much latitude as possible. The people, on the other have largely lost the pious hope that military forces, be they foreign or native, will or even can protect them from anything.

The damage done by the occupation troops, either unintentionally by overruning the recognised training grounds or intentionally for the purpose of erecting military installations, often somewhat exaggerated in the

press, thus causes great bitterness.

In most cases it is impossible to find the responsible party, since the military will, probably truthfully, claim that that particular area was assigned to them by the German authorities, and the authorities, probably equally truthfully, maintain that the forces in question demanded the right to exercise their tanks just there or put up their buildings in the middle of that forest.

Compensation

True, the Federal Republic is bound to pay compensation as part of occupation costs, but money is cold comfort to those who see the work of weeks, months or even years in ruins, and how is it possible to assess in terms of cash the damage to a forest which will per-

haps take generations to recover?

Who is to compensate, for instance, the people of Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover and many other neighbouring cities for the gradual destruction of the Lueneburg Heath, which

used to be their recreation ground?

In 1947 the British and American Military Governments ordered local authorities to fill up existing demolition chambers and expressly forbade the construction of new ones. That order has never been repealed, yet today demolition chambers are being built in roads and bridges throughout Western Germany. Here again the responsibility must be shared

by German and occupation authorities.
In a recent case in Lower Saxony an official government representative explained to the press that the construction of such chambers had been agreed between the occupation forces and the "Department Blank," and his pro-

and the Department Blank, and his provincial government was powerless to intervene. But the people of Western Germany have some experience of the blowing up of roads and bridges. They found at the end of World War II that it usually caused a great deal of damage to their homes and surprisingly little inconvenience to the advancing troops.

They have therefore organised their own resistance, sometimes with the active support of mayors and town councils. In Schlangen, a small town near Detmold, special alarm signals are set off whenever the construction gangs come into sight, and by joining hands across the streets the townspeople block their entry. Several attempts have already been thwarted

in that way. The Times reported recently that in a certain district in the American zone the "for the time being" stopped all work on demolition chambers, and public indignation may well have influenced their decision.

"Sinking wells"

In other places the work is being done at night, or the workers have strict orders to reply to all questions from passers-by that they are "sinking wells."

An old farmer of 93, asked by a press reporter what he thought of the damage done to a nearby forest in the course of some building operation by British troops, replied simply. I think what we lack is men and

Men, presumably, who see the truth and have the courage to act on its obvious implications, instead of the automatons now in power who still tick the way they were taught to tick fifty years ago: peace to sow corn and plant trees, to build roads and construct bridges without fear of senseless destruction.

That old man saw the matter more clearly

than any of ten or twelve different German papers of different political affiliations indig-nantly reporting recent "outrages" committed

by the occupation forces.

Not one of them arrived at the conclusion that these incidents are merely the logical result of the outdated conviction that armies

can prevent more damage than they do.

On the contrary, half of them are eagerly in support of German armed forces of one kind or another and would never dream of telling their readers that so long as tanks and bulldozers, ammunition depots and demolition chambers, whether their operators speak French, German, English or any other language, are permitted to form part of the basis of politics, they must be allowed to do their work, which is destruction.

That is where the real grievance of the German people lies, and the only effective compensation to them would be a new way in

compensation to them would be a new way in international affairs and a peaceful one.

Germany's part in Labour and the War on Want

By Nickolaus Koch

IN the course of a speech at the recent Conference of the German Social Deznocratic Party in Berlin the Social Democratic Deputy, Willi Birkelbach, made the following

comment:

"I know that the question of German rearmament is also, and particularly in the West, reparded from an economic viewpoint. They say, 'The Germans must be made to bear the burden of rearmament lest they undercut our export prices or profit in some other way.' Would it not be possible on our own initiative—and that surely must be possible—to create a kind of international assistance fund for underdeveloped territories, as, for instance, Asia? I believe that if we pursued this matter seriously, enormous amounts of money could be contributed, and it would also help to deprive Communism of its ideological impact on the peoples of those countries."

Dr. Nikolaus Koch has written to Herr

Dr. Nikolaus Koch has written to Herr Birkelbach refering to the suggestion made by him, and continuing as follows:

"I have recently heard a speech by the Labour MP, Fenner Brockway, in which he advocated the same idea on a world scale.

"He stressed the vital importance of relieving the want of young peoples and their underdevedoped countries by material and spiritual means, and suggested an international assistance fund. In this connection he particularly appealed to his German listeners.

"If the German people and German industry were prepared to contribute an amount comparable to that spent on armaments in other countries, it would go a long way towards silencing British fears about an unfettered German economy developing into a real threat to British interests in world



THE WAR ON WANT IN INDIA. Fundamental education ties up the rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing with the practical needs of the community (the ABC of hygiene, better understanding of agriculture, tools and trades). These young men are learning leather-work at Janata College, established by the Indian Government in 1950 as a fundamental education centre.

"From Fenner Brockway's speech and subsequent conversations in Germany and abroad I have gained the following impressions:—
"1. The idea of an international fund to

assist underdeveloped countries is well known abroad and has been commended by a special UN commission, but American, British and French resistance has so far prevented its realisation. In Germany, however, the idea is practically unknown.
"2. If the German people would accept

this idea and begin to realise it, it would help other peoples to overcome their enormous difficulties: develop economic possibilities very much more desirable than an armaments boom: gain the sympathies of the young Asian and African nations for a Germany not burdened with colonial possessions: regain its moral status also in the Western world: and strengthen the social impulses and moral

forces of the world in the cause of peace.

"3. The need of Asia and Africa is so compelling that it must awaken our human compassion, if it is indeed still capable of being awakened. It seems to me that German participation in an international War on Want would at the same time be the best cure for

our people.

"4. The ready acceptance of the War on Want could help to overcome the ideological differences which divide our people into hostile factions, if it stimulates the deepest and most matter-of-fact social forces on all sides. It could happen in a way likely to find international support from all concerned and to be beneficial to all concerned.

"5. From the beginning every economic enterprise would have to be fitted into the framework of a peaceful world economy, the most important outlines of which are already recognisable today. Natural trade and production areas should be developed according

to their natural economic potentialities.
"The West should agree with the East on a peaceful interim plan, which in the course of a few decades could make use of the natural possibilities of the underdeveloped territories, and reduce the unnatural growth of industry in the overdeveloped countries to a reasonable size. Such an interim plan should be designed to enable Western economy to detach itself from the armaments programme without a major crisis. The result should be a world production in proportion to consumption, con-sumption being covered by national production complemented by the production in other

6. The leading German representatives of War on Want should, in addition to Christians and Socialists, be men who belong to the "national camp" of German industry, and the German initiators of a type that would enable leading British representatives like Fenner Brockway to understand them and they him.

"7. A genuine German initiative in this matter could not only be certain of British attention. It could revive certain American currents (e.g. the work of American Quakers), which seem at the moment to have become stagnant, and at the same time find favour in Soviet eyes."

Third Camp By Oliver Caldecott

I SEEM to detect in certain Third Camp arguments a tendency to bracket together Labour Socialism and Soviet Communism. We hear of "opposition to American capitalism, on the one hand, and Communism (and State Socialism) on the other." I think there is a real danger here of confusion and error.

Let me first make it clear that I am not a Labour Party member; that I distrust the Labour leadership and, as a pacifist, regard the Party's policy on Foreign affairs as anti-socialist and wrong. Moreover, I cannot defend the official Party "line" on Colonial problems and I am profoundly critical of the way in which nationalisation has been imposed.

In short, I share the views of many other socialists on the failures and betrayals of official social-democracy. Furthermore, as a "libertarian" I suspect the Labour Party of having failed to play a radical (let alone revolutionary) role in the last decade and indeed, of having become a static and "conservative" institution in British politics.

Socialist tradition

But, I do not regard the Labour movement and the socialist tradition as fundamenally opposed to the Third Camp concept. I see in the Labour movement and in socialist ideas (for example, common ownership, workers' control, industrial democracy, colonial liberation and the stateless classless society) the very inspiration for Third Camp-ism.

Essentially, the ruthless distortion of Marxian ideals in Russia and the growing totali-tarianism of American monopoly capitalism are both in radical opposition to socialismwhich offers the frightened masses of the world a tolerable and hopeful alternative to present regimes and policies.

Moreover, the socialist idea-being both democratic and non-capitalist—could act as a solvent in the present rigid international situation. By offering a constructive, peaceful and liberated society in place of capitalist exploitation and Soviet Communism, it could soften without war the aggressive anger of the opposing blocs.

Socialism could, of course, do this only if it were brought back to its traditional objectives and inspired anew by the utopianism of its founders. The ideals of human co-operation and brotherhood, which have been forgotten by bureaucratic leaderships playing for state power and offering free dentures, must be re-called; the lessons of Gandhism must be learned by socialist thinkers, no less than those of Israeli community living; the movement must be encouraged again to think about the problems of political obligation, political method and political morality.

But, this is my point: none of this is foreign to the socialist movement. Socialists—Marxist and non-Marxist— of the world are seeking something of this kind. They are ready to learn and anxious to begin the creative task of pacifying the world and rebuilding it on foundations of community, co-operation and equality. The Third Camp idea is precisely the very one which might encourage them to do so.

Let us not miss the opportunity of allying ourselves with the only considerable and politically organised group who understand what we are talking about.

A word, in conclusion, about pacifism in relation to socialist action and the Third Camp. Pacifism is traditionally a-political. It stands for a moral and principled attitude to human violence and there are many socialists who reject the pacifist analysis.

Creative task

But I do not think this presents a major problem. Pacifists, individually and collec-tively, must act as political animals and, as the Praja Socialist Party in India shows, can do so within the socialist tradition. I think pacifists have a duty to co-operate in the cause of world peace even with those who disagree on the "absolutist" position—the H-bomb has abolished theoretical differences on violence.

There is, however, a danger that pacifists will seek to bedevil the Third Camp movement with eccentric private panaceas (world Balkanisation and opposition to meat-eating, the combine harvester and, perhaps, following Gandhi, to all forms of manufacturing

I sympathise with many of these "eccen--I too have read Eric Gill and Herbert Read-but I would not let them stand between the pacifist and the non-pacifist radical on the Third Camp issue. For here is a thoroughly workable and immensely inspiring task: to prevent World War III; to free the colonial peoples and enlist their co-operation in defeating poverty and exploitation; to humanise modern living and to gain control, for us all, of the material sources of wealth.

Only by the creation of an immense movement in every continent and country can it be realised. And unless we pacifists play our full part in it-bringing into it a sense of the value of human life, an awareness of new and better methods of struggle and a grasp of the incompatibility between established techniques of action and the goal of peace—it may fail, again, at the very moment when, for the first time in history, it has a real chance of success.

CONSCRIPTS' REGISTRATION

MEN born between October 1 and December 31, 1936, must register for conscription on December 8, 1954; those born between April 1 and June 30, 1937, on March 26, 1955.

BOOKS

Morals and a Vision

By John Ferguson

He kicks you downstairs with such infinite grace You'd think he was handing you up. ALL Bertrand Russell's impish delight in girding at Christians shines from his latest book, Human Society in Ethics and Politics, (Allen and Unwin, 1954, 15s.).

He does it so wittily that it is a pleasure to be his target—St. Sebastian with a smile, as it were. His intellect has lost none of its incisiveness; his passion none of its fire; his expression none of its lucidity. His scholarship is remarkable in its accuracy. And it is especially refreshing to find an octogenarian so alert and responsive to the world around

The first part of the book concerns ethics. Russell believes that there is an objective standard of good behaviour, but he will not allow that this derives from God.

He believes that many of our problems will be solved if we will follow enlightened self-interest. For example, even if we want national power, if we realise that war will in fact bring not power but disaster, we shall not use it as a means.

In general, worldly wisdom directs us to pursue desires which are "compossible" with the desires of others (you and I can both enjoy the same symphony concert, but we cannot simultaneously be President of the USA). Beyond that we should seek the course of action which will promote the deepest happiness of the greatest number of people. Russell does not really argue this, and it is hard to see how he could: he merely asserts the trivial of the see how he could: he merely asserts the provider of the could be the it. I would myself say (as A. E. Taylor said in a remarkable essay) that an objective ethical standard, being independent of me, and of you, and of each individual, is by definition independent of the whole human race.

Where then does it subsist?

Luther's position

In a person (for goodness, as Russell says, has no meaning except in terms of personality), who is in the strict sense super-human: that is, in God. Further, I would say that very many quite ordinary people find them-selves in Luther's position "Here I stand, I can no other." "I can't do it, it's wrong." Not because they calculate the amount of hap-piness deriving from their refusal, but because, believing their refusal to be right, they have faith that it will ultimately work to the greatest good of the greatest number. This is faith: not, as Russell seems to think, belief in despite of the evidence, but action in despite of the apparent consequences.

The second and shorter section deals principally with current political problems. Russell's hatred of war, although he is no longer a pacifist, is marked and evident; it is significant that he always speaks of the Quakers with high respect. He suggests that India should appoint a neutral commission to present objectively to the Great Powers the calculable results of a fresh war.

This may bring the nations to the point were they realise that war will not pay, and negotiation will become possible. Ultimately peace will depend on a willingness to abrogate national sovereignty.

In his final chapter Russell rises to heights

of real eloquence:
"When I allow myself to hope that the world will emerge from its present troubles, and that it will some day learn to give the direction of its affairs, not to cruel mounte-banks, but to men possessed of wisdom and courage. I see before me a shining vision: a world where none are hungry, where few are ill, where work is pleasant and not excessive, where work is pleasant and not excessive, where kindly feeling is common, and where minds released from fear create delight for eye and ear and heart. Do not say this is impossible. It is not impossible. I do not say it can be done tomorrow, but I do say that it could be done within a thousand years, if men would bend their minds to the achievement of the kind of heavings that should he ment of the kind of happiness that should be distinctive of man . . . The future of man is at stake, and if enough men become aware of this his future is assured. Those who are to lead the world out of its troubles will need courage, hope, and love. Whether they will prevail, I do not know; but, beyond all reason, I am unconquerably persuaded that they will."

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What the Third

Camp means

THE Third Camp means some special

political, of a new psychological orienta-tion, a new concept of values and a new

and creative way of making them rule in the social and political life of nations. It means, it seems to me, that we of the pacifist the anti-militarist, the war-resister, the non-violent movements in the world,

must somehow corporately be what Gandhi

was. He was on the one hand a saint, one to whom non-violence was in so deep a

sense a way of life that he could say he

would still believe in non-violence even if it meant that India did not become inde-

pendent but who—precisely because of that—generated the spiritual dynamism which led the masses of India to follow him and

made non-violence in at least one great

situation an instrument of effective and

creative integration of the spiritual and

TRENDS

HE hinted (Attlee at Scarborough), rather than clearly expressed, that there may be a possibility of building a kind of third world

That is, a new world conglomeration of great moral and ethical power. It would be based upon those countries which believe in and are developing a true social democratic structure.

Major countries would be the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Britain and the Commonwealth including India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon.

This immense group of social democracies would reject the two extremes symbolised by Soviet Russia and America. The social democracies would become a tremendous power for social progress.

We know that this is not a new concept. Many of us have been preaching it for a long

But when Attlee, with his prestige and influence, can lend his voice too, it represents an advance which a few years ago would have been unthinkable.

> -Editorial, Railway Review, October 1 * *

FROM what he has seen since Stalin's death, Salisbury (Moscow correspondent of the New York Times) is convinced that no "era of sweetness and light has suddenly descended upon Communist Russia . . . What is new . . . is that Russia has passed into the hands of a group of men who are displaying striking flexibility in their handling of domestic and foreign problems."

They also be says have "a large measure.

They also, he says, have "a large measure of confidence" as a result of "possession of the hydrogen and atomic fission bombs, a fine fleet of jet aircraft (and) industry to match paces with the US."

In foreign policy they are determined to convince the world that Russia "is now ruled by a group of 'reasonable men.'" Many Moscow diplomats, said he, "believe that American policy is suffering severely from a failure or an inability to adjust realistically to Moscow's new look."

-Time magazine, October 4.

MANCHESTER PEACE MARCH

SIX peace organisations in Manchester have issued a call to all who "believe in reconciling differences at all times without war preparations" to take part in a Peace March next Saturday, October 16, through the main streets of the city.

The six organisations are The Society of Friends, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Independent Labour Party, The Women's International League, The Peace Pledge Union and the Young War Resisters. They are combined in the Manchester United Peace Fellow-

The March will begin at Friends Meeting House, Mount Street, at 2.30 p.m. and will proceed via the central area to the bomber's site in Deansgate, at the corner of St. Mary's Gate, for a public meeting at 3.30 p.m. The meeting will be addressed by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

After the meeting light refreshments will be served at the Friends Meeting House, Mount Street from 4.30 p.m.

All who are able to help with the distribu-tion of leaslets, the sale of Peace News, or in the march itself, are asked to contact Fred Barton at 77 Derbyshire Lane, Stretford, Manchester before October 12.

Friday, October 8

Saturday, October 9

EDMONTON: 7,30 p.m.; Independent Cong. Ch. Knights Lane. Joint Social, Cong. Ch. and PPU.

Saturday-Sunday, October 9-10 BRIDLINGTON: Weekend school, Alexandra Hotel. F. Rona, MSc, "The Economic Consequences of Disarmament." Details: A.

SHEFFIELD: 12.45 p.m.; City Memorial all. Lunch-hour mtg. Rev Dr. Donald oper. "It Must Be Pacifism." PPU, FoR,

Labour and the Gallup Poll

FRANK ALLAUN'S assertion that the Labour Party's six per cent. lead in the latest Gallup Poll is due to the recent visit of Labour leaders to China and Russia is a fallacy.

At the last General Election Labour polled more votes than the present Conservative Government, and a large increase in the Labour and Liberal vote has been apparent in the local council elections which took place long before the visit to Russia and China took

I find it difficult to understand why Mr. Allaun and his comrades should support the Labour Party, under whose regimental regime thousands of millions of pounds of the people's money were thrown away on an egregious and unnecessary rearmament programme.

MICHAEL THOMAS.

110 Dalmally Rd., Addiscombe (Croydon).

The Market Place

WOULD any pacifist dispute that a pound of lead weighs no more than a pound of feathers? Would not PN readers generally agree that £1 worth of British manufactured goods may be exchanged fairly for £1 worth of, say, Pakistani jute.

The market place is where willing sellers and willing buyers meet on terms of complete equality and in perfect freedom to exchange their products to their mutual advantage. They benefit themselves and they serve well

They benefit themselves and they serve well their employers—the consumers—whether they be Britons or Backwardians.

The market place is more important than Constitutions, the Ballot Box, the Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations and the whole bag of political catchwords and organisations. Non-violent, co-operative and egalitarian, the market affords and preserves the greatest sector of human freedom at present enjoyed. Destroy the market and you destroy enjoyed. Destroy the market and you destroy

its product—civilisation itself.
Mr. M. C. Maddever asserts (PN October 1) that an essential of pacifism is to secure removal of the "exploitation of markets"—an impossible concept — and further alleges that for industrial nations to trade with backward peoples is injustice to the latter.
This is dangerous nonsense.

P. R. STUBBINGS.

388 Finchley Road, Childs Hill, N.W.2.

Without military fetters

PART from the small pacifist element in Germany there is one other factor which can halt German rearmament and that

is German big business.

Germany's industrial recovery since World War II has been remarkable. Her export trade has become an increasing threat to other countries. Apart from her will to work, the other reason is simple. Her industrial manpower and plant has been unfettered by militarism.

The vast majority of the products called for by Asia, Africa, and South America today are not military but the wherewithal to live.

Germany has, without militarism, a chance to lead the world in the construction of products for peace.

GEORGE GREGORY.

Elm Guest House, Elm Grove, S.W.19.

Pen friends

PACIFISTS, with their individual renunciation of war, are especially capable of taking individual action to help forge the World's peoples into one World Brotherhood. For those whose means are small, international correspondence offers the best means of building world understanding.

I am already in contact with a number of people in the USA but would like to hear from people in other countries, pacifist and non-pacifist, who are interested in discussing current affairs and problems in each other's countries. I guarantee to answer all letters in

EDWARD CORBY.

35 Beverstone Rd., Thornton Heath, Surrey.

Change the name

READ, PN August 20 "It is understood that the name Third Camp is subject to change."

This pleased me. "Third Camp" suggests a factional or separatist party.

I would give it a name signifying inclusive-ness and unity, and so would suggest "Univer-sal Human Movement."

HAROLD HANSEN.

New Zealand.

The main task

A LAN LITHERLAND states (PN Sept. 17) what he believes to be the main task of the Pacifist movement: the insistence that peace depends on the renunciation of military power by the nations.

That is where the socialist feels the Pacifist to be unrealistic. If one is prepared to accept present day society with its class distinctions and its national rivalries, then one must accept militarism which is necessary to it.

S. EDWARDS.

15 Warren Street, Glasgow, S.2.

Mass suicide

MAKING rather free use of the term "Suicide" by adding mass, or race, is is common these days. I note that in PN Bertrand Russell is one of the most recent to

Suicide is essentially a matter for the individual, there can be no collective suicide in any conceivable circumstances, and the use of the word in regard to mass destruction by bombs is absurd.

Only if all people of Britain (for example) agreed to, and had an equal part in, the release of these weapons, could it be said to approximate to suicide.

COLLIN COATES.

100 Acton Avenue, Riverdale, Western Australia.

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Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (ball, sucet); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

LONDON, E-3.: 7.45 p.m.; Children's Orchard Lea Papers." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1.t 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. Douglas Clark, "The Theatre in Ger-many and Austria." PPU Central London Gp.

BARROW-in-FURNESS: 7.30 p.m.; King's Hall, Hartington St. Sybil Morrison, "Security through Disarmament," Lakeland Area PPU.

MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. Peace March leaves for parade of central Manchester. Assemble for Public Mtg., Blitz Site, Deansgate (enr. St. Mary's Gate) at 3.30 p.m. approx. Speaker Stuart Morris. Refreshments, Friends Mt, Ho., 4.30 p.m. Offers of help to Fred Barton, 77 Derbyshire Lane, Stretford, before October 12.

ULVERSTON: 3 p.m.; Co-operative Hall, Brogden St. Sybil Morrison, "Security through Disarmament," Lakeland Area PPU.

Grange. Half-day school. "The Chailenge of Africa." Speaker: Tom Wardle. Fee 2s. 6d., incl. tea. Details, Miss F. Wilson, 15 Goldthorn Ave. Whampton Peace Cncl.

Sunday, October 17

Monday, October 18

GUILDFORD: 7.30 p.m.; North St. Cong. Ch. Hall. Public Mtg. John Ferguson "The Basis of Christian Pacifism." For.

Thursday, October 21

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Adult School Rms., Friar Lane. Fred Hannant. "Has the Pacifist Movement a Future?" Discussion and refreshments. N. Midland Board for COs

WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., St. John St. Public Mtg. John Hoyland. "Mankind at the Crossroads." Wellingborough Peace Group.

INVITATION

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary," are open to all; they are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them or to pacifists. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

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MEETINGS

MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM. Any Questions on German Rearmament? Panel rep. diff. viewpoints, includes Aid. Mrs. Lennard, Mr. John Hammond, Dr. Kontad Braun (in personal capacities) and Mr. Gordon Schaffer. Midland Institute (small). Saturday, October 9, 7 p.m. Visitors Welcome. B.P.P.C.

EMPRESS HALL. Saturday, November 6, 7 p.m. Celebration: Opening of British-Soviet Friendship Month, November, 1954: 37th Anniversary of the USSR. He the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Malik, speaks. Soviet guest include Khachaturian, composer; Leonov, writer; Mme. Novikova, chairman of the Consumer Goods Workers Trade Union. Soviet singers and dancers will perform. Medvedev's Estrada Orchestra. Tkts, 2s., 3s., 7s. 6d., 10s. 6d., from British Saviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., E.C.I. Cash and sae with order, 10% disc. on block bookings of 10 plus.

bookings of 10 plus,

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome. KATHLEEN LONSDALE, FRS, speaks about her tour at King's Weigh Ho. Church Hall, Duke St., W.I., at 7 p.m., Wednesday, October 20. Chaliman Dr. Rita Hinden. Adm. free. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

KING'S WEIGH House Church. Duke St..

Peace and Freedom.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Cultuan, MA, B.Litt.

MANCHESTER PEACE COMMITTEE. Hear Councillor E. Dixon (Coventry) on "Civil Defence," and Gordon Schaffer (chairman, British Peace Committee) on "Germany" at Lesser Free Trade Hall. Sunday, October 17., 7.30 p.m. Admission 6d.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

CONFERENCES, Week-end and Summer Schools at The Mount, Haverhill, Suffolk. Max, accom. 54. From 12s, p. day full bd. and accom. Fully equipped centre, extensive ardens; plentiful food, tennis court, etc. Details from Warden.

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LITERATURE

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SITUATIONS VACANT

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IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA 2262. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Julie Finsbury Pk.

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HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT. offer plain postcards, 2s. 6d. 100; 6 x 3½ envelopes, white 18s. 6d. 1,000 box manilla, 10s. 9d. 1,000 box; white bank paper, 10×8 in, 7s. 6d. \$00 sheets; Newswrappers, 10×5 in, 15s. 1,000. Is. 9d. 100; plain economy labels, $4\pm \times 3\frac{3}{2}$ in. 13s. 6d. 1,000, 1s. 6d. 100. All post free.

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bard or bed and breakfast.

STAN and EDNA HEYWOOD, Diane (8) and Clare (6) urgently require unfurnished/ furnished accommodation. Willing to pay good rental for latter 42 Woodville Rd., Barnet (BAR 2171).

TORQUAY. Delightful for Autumn holidays, comfortable vegetarian guest house with excellent food, highly recommended. Book early for Christmas. Mr. and Mrs. B. S. White, Nutcombe, Rowdens Rd.

Leaper, 22 Barrington Ave., Hull. Court. John Ferguson, MA, BD, "Christians and World Affairs." FoR. Sunday, October 10

HYDE PARK 1 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.
SWANSEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Joseph Murumbi, "A Plan for Kenya." Swansea Peace Council. Tuesday, October 12 MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air mtg. Rev. Clifford Macquire. FoR.

Wednesday, October 13

LONDON, N.W.1.: 7 p.m.; Friends House, Euston Rd. Public Meeting. Third Camp Movement.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Non-Violence Commission. PPU. NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FoR, PPU.

Thursday, October 14 GRANGE OVER SANDS: 7.15 p.m.; Allithwaite Cong. Mission. Sybil Morrison, "Security through Disarmament." PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho,. Bush Rd. John Fitzgerald, JP. "World Government." PPU. LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Bvery Thursday, PYAG.

Friday, October 15

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Hall, Fenton St. Public Mtg. "Security through Disarmament." PPU.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Saturday, October 16

WOLVERHAMPTON: 2.30 p.m.; Compton trange. Half-day school, "The Challenge

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. Stn.), Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse. Rev. E. F. Carpener, MA, Ph.D. "A Reason for the Faith that is in us." Religion Commission

Scarborough and After

THE Scarborough Conference of 1954 will stand out as a milestone in the history of the Labour Party.

True the Executive managed to secure, by the narrowest of margins, the defeat of the resolution declaring against any kind of German rearmament and support for a vaguely worded resolution favouring a contribution to Western defence by Germany, with safeguards against a revival of German militarism, whatever that may mean, but the mood and temper in the world. of the Conference was healthier than it has been for many years.

I write as one who has never found the Labour Party Conference very inspiring, at any rate not since Ernest Bevin succeeded in driving George Lansbury out of the leadership and established the virtual dictatorship of a group of big trade union leaders who, by the manipulation of the huge block votes, lay down the law as to what Labour Party policy

Change things

This year they did it again, but only just. In another year, if the rank and file assert themselves, they can change things and make the Labour Party a real Socialist Party with an international policy that can inspire the world.

One union executive, by a vote of 12 to 10, decided the block votes that saved the Labour Party Executive. Then the big block of miners' votes went for German rearmament.

I represent one of the biggest mining constituencies in Scotland, with all the miners' lodges solidly against the Executive policy. Neither the Scotlish miners nor the Welsh miners are in favour of German rearmament and I have my doubts about the other districts also.

Yet the votes of all the miners in Britain were held up in favour of a policy which would not have been carried in a rank-andfile ballot vote.

Of course, it works both ways, but on important issues like this some more democratic method should be adopted than the one which now prevails.

The experience of Scarborough should teach the rank and file to be vigilant of the leadership.

It is no use waiting until the last moment. The work for next year should begin now.

But compared with the Margate conference of three years ago when the platform unani-mously persuaded the conference to support British rearmament—with only a small minority of us protesting—the progress has been marked indeed.

The issue is, of course, not settled; the controversy goes on and especially in Parliament. German rearmament and all its implications will continue to dominate foreign affairs. Those of us who have called for a different foreign policy now know that we are not just an insignificant minority, but that we have a big solid rank and file behind us, one that wants to see Labour MPs speak and vote for peace and against all moves that are likely to lead to war.

and the second contract of the second contrac A quite exceptionally attractive selection

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I am not one who deplores divisions about rearmament in the Labour Party; far better that there should be divisions than have a Labour Party standing for a policy that implies continued big arms expenditure and acquiescence in things which are diametrically opposed to better international understanding

Page Six

The most encouraging thing about Scar-borough was the report of the delegation to China and Mr. Attlee's speeches on this question

It does say a lot for Attlee that at the age of 70 he could set out on this pilgrimage to Russia and China and talk commonsense about the need of maintaining personal contact and trying to understand what is going on in Communist countries.

Repercussions

This visit to China is the best thing that has

happened to the Labour Party for years.
It is bound to have repercussions and implications when we come to make decisions involving our attitude towards Russia and China in the near future.

It was good to see the pacifists and the sellers of Peace News so much in evidence at Scarborough.

Of course Donald Soper was right when he stressed the fact that we were not the lunatic fringe of the Labour Party but that the paciwere the realists.

One requires infinite patience in politics and infinite tolerance too. Pacifists must not give way to bitterness for bitterness is sterile. But that does not mean that they must not be per-sistent, tireless and alert in their task of converting British public opinion and especially the Labour Party whose programme of social justice and equality can only be achieved through disarmament and peace

Pacifist Youth Group Annual Conference

TODAY'S youth must build tomorrow's Peace," was the firm conviction of an enthusiastic body of young people, of many shades of political and religious beliefs, who gathered on Sunday at the Friends' Inter-national Centre, London, for the first Annual National Conference of the Pacifist Youth Action Group. For five hours the Youth Commission of the Peace Pledge Union discussed the winding up of its first year of life and prepared for the coming year. Reports for the closing year from the

retiring executive committee indicated the scope of the group's activities. Membership was rising steadily and there were useful contact members in the provinces. It was hoped that many branches would be established in the ensuing twelve months. Attendance at, and co-operation with, many religious and political organisations had been a notable feature of activities.

The draft constitution was authorised, leaving no age limit to the group. PYAG's objects were defined as: The furtherance of Pacifism, the co-ordination of young pacifists, assistance in the promotion of Peace News, the representation of pacifist views in relevant organisations and the organisation of activities to interest others in the anti-war approach.

The national executive committee was elected as follows: David Lane (Chairman), Jack Ellis (Treasurer). Ian Dixon (General Secretary), Christopher Farley (Membership Secretary) and Keith Horne (Organisations

Secretary).

After a brief pause for refreshment and private discussion, future policy was outlined. Sunday meetings would continue in Hyde Parke, followed up by Thursday gatherings at Dick Sheppard House (6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.), for meeting the newly-interested. Amongst other proposed activities were monthly film shows, poster parades, writing to the press covering meetings corresponded. writing to the press, covering meetings, correspondence with young people in Eastern Europe and a Christmas Social. A regular newsletter was also starting.

A successful collection for funds was taken. after which the group considered the promo-tion of Peace News. In the early days of PYAG a handful of members had sold over

100 copies a week. With a far larger membership and better organisation this would be improved considerably.

At the conclusion of the conference, many members spent the evening in Hyde Park at the PYAG stand at Speakers' Corner. PYAG 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4 is open to all young pacifists and seeks the support of yet more members.

hristmas

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Momentous Conference!

The contribution which through you (Mr. Eden), your Government has made has been indispensable and historically momentous. I believe it will mean that this conference will go down to history as one of the greatest conferences of all time.

—Mr. Dulles, October 3, 1954.

It is my belief that we have built well for the future of Europe. . . We all pray that the result of our work will be shown in greater confidence and a more enduring peace throughout the world.

—Mr. Eden, October 3, 1954.

AND so, with a flourish, and many mutually complimentary speeches, the signatures of the accredited representatives of nine Powers have been set to a document which agrees among other things to the arming of Western Germany.

The Germans, who were never to be permitted again to have arms of any kind because they were held to be solely responsible for two world wars, are now to be integrated into a military alliance with those countries, which, fifteen years ago took up arms against them, and fought through six desperate years to secure their defeat.

And Britain, in order to achieve this strange reversal of declared policy, has had to make the biggest concession of any in her island history; a pledge to keep a standing army in peace time on the continent of Europe.

It is perhaps fortunate for Mr. Eden that no one at the conference has cared to remind him that his main argument advocating the arming of Germany, was in order that British man-power should not be tied up in Europe!

To secure that division of Europe into two halves; to contain Communism within a bristling barrier of bombs and bombers, Britain has committed itself to an act of sheer militarism. This step is acclaimed as a suprementation of the conformer and t act of statesmanship, and the conference at which it was arranged applauded as something that "will go down to history."

It will go down to history, certainly, if there should be anyone left to write or read history, but it seems more likely that it will go down along with the human race into the pit that these so-called statesmen have, in the name of enduring peace," deliberately opened beneath

The history of broken pacts and treaties-Locarno, Lausanne, Kellogg, Versailles—is a tragic record of the consequences of such "statesmanlike" expediency.

The negotiations with Hitler, the Hoare-Laval attempt to buy Mussolini's allegiance,

the non-intervention agreement in regard to the Spanish Civil War could all be called momentous but they are now, naturally,

deplored and condemned.

Nevertheless, Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's
Italy, not to mention Franco's Spain may be necessary Allies in a possible war with the Soviet Union, and statesmanship, past and present, always requires that agreements which are no longer agreeable should be elegantly repudiated amidst the plaudits of the deluded populace.

The Atlantic Charter with its pledge to work for "the abandonment of the use of force," has gone its way with the rest of the torn up "scraps of paper" that have represented the

"scraps of paper" that have represented the momentous conferences of other days.

In fact the Eighth Clause of the Atlantic Charter never paid anything but lip service to that pledge, for it went on to repudiate any responsibility for so-called "aggressive" nations unless they were disarmed (Germany was then, of course, an aggressive nation).

And now this Nine-Power Conference, designed to make peace secure by the hopelessly discredited method of military strength

Scuttle at Scarborough By L. J. CUMING

"NOT the slightest chance in the world," said Jennie Lee. She paused to tidy up a pile of Tribunes before going on with her comment, "I'll be most astonished if the Conference agrees to discuss Conscription. In any case, the Agenda will have overrun by Friday morning and that will be that."

We were grateful for the advice, if more than a trifle dispirited. It was Wednesday afternoon in the Sun Lounge at Scarborough, the Labour Party Conference was half-way through, and an anxious group of delegates had gathered round the Labour Peace Fellowship bookstall to discuss prospects with the Secretary of the No Conscription Council.

L. J. Callaghan, a former Minister (Admiralty) seemed equally dubious. "In any case," said he, "if you were going to be a Minister of a Defence department in the next Labour Government would you welcome any cut in conscription?" We had —and have—no similar Ministerial ambitions, but we saw the point. After all, every Labour Conference delegate carries a Minister's portfolio in his suit-case. Or thinks he does.

But they did debate conscription. True it was on the last morning of Conference. True that most of the delegates were thinking of trains home and souvenir sticks of rock. But a very valiant band representing areas from the Surrey Federation to Argyll and even including the Amalgamated Engineering Union had their way. Labour's Parliament debated a vital issue of freedom for the first time since long before 1939.

Conference arrangements made sure that there would be no vote. At the critical moment the very substantial figure of Mr Arthur Deakin surged to the rostrum and advised the conference to remit this matter to the National Executive Council for consideration.

Conference took Mr. Deakin's suggestion. A frantic attempt by the Chairman of the Labour League of Youth to raise a point of

and military alliances, turns on all the old limelight to pick out in its blaze British diplomats, honest and upright, as the supreme leaders; and grinds out all the old cliches about unity and sanctity. Indeed, it has been almost possible to hear a far-off echo, carried on this western wind, that sounds uncommonly ike "peace with honour," or could it be peace through strength"? Whether it be Chamberlain or Eden, Hitler

or Adenauer, signatures alone are not enough. Peace and armaments do not, and cannot go together, as our Press and politicians frequently remind us when referring to Russia.

Let us hope that ultimately it will go down to history that some nation had the commonsense to repudiate an agreement that should never have been made.

CALL-UP

From page one

In England it is to be observed that the increased publicity given to call-up procedure omits any reference to the provision made for conscientious objectors.

After newspapers in North Kent had published a statement on the call-up by the manager of the Bromley Labour Exchange, a Mr. Jeffries, in which he had omitted any reference to the conscience clause, a letter of protest was sent to the Editor of the Bromley Mercury by the Clerk of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Bromley, Mr. F. Marcus Arman:

It is clear from Mr. Jeffries' letter on this subject that the Ministry of Labour and National Service is disturbed to find that the "call-up" unsettles young men and their

It is only too easy to forget that the conscription system has disturbed the lives

of young men for the last 16 years.

Mr. Jeffries omits to point out, however, that the National Service Acts provide that those who conscientiously object to service in the strengths. in the armed forces have the right to register their objection and to appear before a Tribunal, constituted under these Acts, which may grant them exemption from such

The fact that only a minority of young men are interested in the conscience clauses of the National Service Acts, and are likely to become conscientious objectors, is beside to become conscientious objectors, is vestae the point. While it is reasonable for an administrator to "explain" how a particular Act operates it is surely wrong for an official to omit from such an explanation the provisions made to safeguard the elementary human rights of individuals which have been accepted by Parliament itself.

MPs will want to know

A letter circulated by a Youth Employment Officer, Mr. L. F. Sheppard, from the Deptford (London) Youth Employment Bureau of the London County Council is likely to lead to questions being raised in the House of Com-mons when Parliament reassembles.

The letter had been sent to young men due to register on September 18. Dated September

2. the letter said:
"I have arranged for representatives of the Navy, Army and Air Force to be here next Thursday evening, September 9 to answer questions about National Service.

Members of Parliament will want to know

why the names of those about to register should be made known only to Labour Exchange and Employment Bureau officials and not to Churches, Youth Clubs and other bodies concerned with the welfare of young

FRIDAY RENDEZVOUS

Steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Trafalgar Square at 5.30 p.m.

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